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The historic speech by the great leader and teacher, Comrade Stalin, at the 19th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is a program for the struggle of the working people in all countries for peace, against the warmongers, for national independence of peoples and for democracy. ...

1. The Bourgeoisie Sells Nations' Rights and Independence for Dollars.--- ...There was a time when the bourgeoisie came forth in the struggle against feudalism under the banner of defense of nations' rights and independence. Now, however, the situation has fundamentally changed. The guns of Wall Street are not the guns of the French bourgeoisie at Valmy, the thunder of which was so enthusiastically welcomed by Goethe when he stated that they "proclaimed a new era," the era of bourgeois democracy's victory over feudal reaction. The guns of American imperialism are directed at suppressing people's national independence, at liquidating bourgeois democracy and at carrying out a policy of violent imperialist reaction. ...

The ruling hierarchy of capitalist countries is following not a national but an antinational course in the sphere of foreign and domestic policy, in the sphere of national culture. ...

Many important questions, the decision of which was for many centuries the inalienable right of an independent state--questions of war and peace, of the composition and number of armed forces, of the right to command these forces independently, of military appropriations and the budget as a whole, of the level of industrial production--are now being handed over by the bourgeoisie of West European countries to American monopolists. These questions are now being decided not by the West European governments but by the emissaries of American billionaires, and they are clearly not being decided in the peoples' interests.

The bourgeoisie is more and more strongly tightening the American noose around the peoples' necks, selling the last remnants of national sovereignty. A vivid expression of the bourgeoisie's policy is the convention on the statute of the armed forces of Atlantic Pact countries and also the treaty on the so-called European Defense Community. ...

These agreements are nothing but acts of national treason. ...

The bourgeoisie has created an ideology of national treason, the ideology of cosmopolitanism. From day to day a multitude of reactionary statesmen, publicists, writers and journalists harp on the view that the idea of national sovereignty is supposedly obsolete, that it is necessary to abandon it and that people should reject national independence for the "general good," for an all-European supranational organization, i.e., for U.S. world domination.

The lackeys of imperialism, the right-wing socialists, turn themselves inside out to debunk the idea of national sovereignty, to instill in the working people the pernicious ideas of cosmopolitanism and to destroy the noble sentiment of patriotism in them. Right-wing social democrats have made the ideology of national treason the basis of their work. Right-wing socialists, in addition to their old role as traitors to the working class, are now appearing in the role of traitors to their nations, to their states, and as agents of American imperialism.

2. Standard-Bearers of National Independence.--The toiling masses in capitalist countries are becoming more and more convinced of the bourgeoisie's national treason, since they are experiencing the baneful consequences of this treason. The masses see in practice that the Communists consistently expose the treachery of the bourgeoisie and right-wing socialists, who are groveling before the American imperialists. The Communists are fighting selflessly for the independence of countries and for democratic freedoms. ...

The Communists are telling peoples in their countries that their sacred patriotic obligation is to defend the homeland from imperialist slavery, to defend their countries' national sovereignty and to save the nation from being drawn into a disastrous war. ...

The Communists work among all strata of the population and extend their hand to all who are ready to oppose dollar dictation, who value national sovereignty and who do not wish to travel the path of national betrayal. ...

The joint appeal, published Jan. 28, of three parties--the French Communist Party, the German Communist Party and the German Socialist Unity Party--to the peoples of these countries summons the German and French peoples to fighting solidarity and shows the only correct path for a settlement of the German question, on which peace in Europe depends. The appeal of the three parties states: "Our people's joint struggle for peace will restore unity to Germany and security and independence to France. The existence of a peace-loving, democratic, reunited Germany is the best guarantee of France's security and the security of other European peoples." ...

The Italian Communist Party is waging a selfless and forceful struggle for the Italian people's independence and freedom and against American imperialism's policy of enslaving Italy. ...

The Communist Parties of Britain, Norway, Denmark and other countries are unmasking the criminal policy of the bourgeoisie's ruling circles, which permit the stationing of foreign forces in a country in peacetime, and they are demanding an end to the arms race and an independent policy, a policy of friendship among peoples. ...

The Indian Communist Party is summoning millions of working people, the working class, the peasantry, the working intelligentsia, the middle classes, as well as the national bourgeoisie interested in the country's freedom, to rally in a united democratic front for winning true national independence of their country, for liberating the peasants from the feudal lords' oppression and for improving the working people's life.

The Japanese people, who have fallen into the misfortune of the American occupation, are in a more difficult situation than at any time in their history. The Japanese Communist Party is fighting for the formation of a united, national liberation, democratic front of all progressive Japanese forces in the struggle for national liberation from the American occupiers and against the transformation of Japan into a springboard for war in the Far East. The Communist Party program states that the workers and peasants will be the main force in this liberation struggle. The artisans and small traders, small and middle employers, and also a large section of the Japanese industrialists and merchants, suffering from the occupation regime and laws of the reactionary government, will join their alliance.

The Communist Parties of Latin America head the struggle of the masses for national independence and against the oppression of American imperialism in these countries' economic and political life.

The Communist and peoples' parties of Near and Middle Eastern and North African countries are marching in the front ranks of the people, who recently have been rising more and more forcefully to the struggle against imperialist enslavement. ...

3. For a United Front of National Independence.---An important condition for the success of the peoples' struggle for national independence is the unity of all healthy, vital forces in the nations around the working class and its vanguard, the Communist and Workers' Parties. In solving this task the Communists rely on objective laws of social development. The

operation of the basic economic law of present-day capitalism, discovered by J. V. Stalin, makes extreme the contradictions between the main masses of people and the bourgeoisie, whose wealth has reached colossal dimensions, particularly in the U.S.A. ...

The Communist Parties are defending national sovereignty, struggling in order that all questions in a given state can be decided without interference by American imperialism and in the people's interests. They are striving for an end to the arms race, are supporting every development of economic and trade relations with countries in the democratic camp, are combating rule by American monopolies in their countries' industry and trade and are struggling in order that national industry not curtail peaceful production, but provide work for the people in their countries.

In opposition to the bourgeoisie, which is destroying national culture by permitting the American plunderers to flood countries with literature and art which corrupt the spirit of the people, the Communist Parties come forth as protectors of the national culture by defending the progressive and democratic traditions of this culture.

The great strength of the Communists' patriotism is that their defense of countries' national independence does not contradict, but unites with their struggle for friendship among peoples, for lasting and close friendly relations with peoples of the democratic camp, headed by the great Soviet Union. In this is expressed the unity and indivisibility of the national and international tasks of the working class of various countries at the present stage. Patriotism thus unites with the principle of proletarian internationalism.

The Communist Parties' policy of defense of peace, democratic freedoms and national independence is meeting the support of increasingly broader strata of the population. The political army of Communist Parties is being formed constantly. It is now immeasurably broader and stronger than before the second world war. The tread of the iron battalions of defenders of the peoples' national independence, headed by the heroic Communist vanguard, resounds more and more loudly in all countries. At the same time the ruling bourgeois parties, who are footing the bill for the sale of national independence are more and more being deprived of influence among the masses. For example, in Italy the ruling clerical party of de Gasperi lost more than 4,000,000 votes in the elections to bodies of local self-government in 1951-1952, and the influence of the Italian Communist Party and the Italian Socialist Party which joined in a united front with it, increased considerably.

By defending their country's freedom and independence and the material and spiritual interests of the working class and of all city and country toilers, the Communists are creating fighting unity among the country's national forces for a rebuff to imperialist foreign enslavers. The united front of action of the working class is the basis of this unity. The experience of the international workers' movement shows that this unity can be achieved only by waging an energetic, implacable struggle against splitters, provocateurs and agents of American imperialism--the right-wing socialist leaders.

The logic of historical development is such that the further the bourgeoisie and its social democratic followers travel the path dictated by their American masters, the path of national betrayal, the more forcefully will the masses turn aside from them and rally around the Communist Parties. .

"Communists Are in Vanguard of Peoples' Struggle for National Independence"

Pravda, April 21, 1953, p. 3. Condensed

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ALLIANCE AND FRIENDSHIP IN INTERESTS OF UNIVERSAL PEACE

The Soviet and Polish peoples and all sincere friends of peace and international cooperation today mark a great event in the history of Soviet-Polish relations. The Treaty of Friendship, Mutual Aid and Postwar Cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Polish Republic was signed eight years ago, on April 21, 1945. Like other treaties between the Soviet Union and the people's democracies and unlike the treaties based on unequal rights which are concluded among capitalist states, treaties which put the stronger states in a privileged position, the Soviet-Polish treaty is based on the principles of the parties' full sovereignty and equality of rights and on their cooperation and mutual aid.

The public of the Soviet Union and Poland and all peace-loving peoples rightly consider the Soviet-Polish treaty an historic document, for it marked that fundamental turning point in relations between the U.S.S.R. and Poland in the direction of alliance and friendship, which was reached during the struggle for liberation from the Hitlerite invaders....

As J.V. Stalin said when it was signed, the treaty's significance lies in the fact that it lays a real basis on which to replace the old unfriendly relations between the Soviet Union and Poland by relations of friendship and alliance. This treaty is a guarantee of new democratic Poland's independence, a guarantee of her right and prosperity.

Forever past is that grievous time for the Polish people when the bourgeois landowning, antipopular ruling cliques of old Poland, on orders from enemies of the Polish and Soviet peoples, enemies of peace, pursued a ruinous policy of hostility towards the Soviet Union and made Poland a plaything in the hands of foreigners.

It is generally known that in recent decades alone Polish territory has twice been used as a corridor for attacks by invaders of our land. From this shortsighted policy the Polish and Soviet peoples suffered direct harm and the common enemies of our people derived benefit. This vicious policy brought prewar Poland to national catastrophe, to seizure and occupation by the Hitlerite tyrants, led to the annihilation of the Polish state, to the plunder of the Polish economy and to countless sacrifices by the Polish people.

There are many facts which testify that Poland's enemies did not give up their cunning designs even after the second world war. Under these conditions one cannot fail to see the full importance of the Soviet-Polish treaty, which is a guarantee of democratic Poland's independence and power.

The treaty defines the mutual obligations of both parties to participate in a spirit of sincerest cooperation in all international activity directed toward ensuring peace and the security of peoples, to make their full contribution to the realization of these high purposes, to strengthen the friendly cooperation of both countries in accordance with the principles of mutual respect for their independence and sovereignty and of non-interference in one another's internal affairs.***

In the past eight years the alliance and friendship between the Soviet Union and Poland have grown ever stronger. Poland's neighbors are now friendly states: the Soviet Union, people's democratic Czechoslovakia and the German Democratic Republic. This has opened up a favorable prospect before the Polish state.

The free Polish people's bonds with the peoples of the Soviet Union, the Chinese People's Republic, the German Democratic Republic and the people's democracies are growing and expanding. These bonds and relations are developing on the basis of the Leninist-Stalinist principles of proletarian internationalism. In developing and strengthening their friendly ties with the free peoples of the democratic camp, the Polish people are vigilantly guarding their great gains from encroachment by all Poland's enemies of every kind....

Pravda, April 30, 1953. Condensed.

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TRIUMPH OF IDEAS OF FRIENDSHIP AMONG PEOPLES

Tomorrow, May Day, is the day of the international working people's solidarity, the day of fraternity among workers in every country. The wide masses of working people in all countries of the world, inspired by the great ideas of the struggle for freedom and a bright future for the peoples, are rallying still more closely under the banner of proletarian internationalism.

This year May Day is being celebrated with the watchword of further growth in the forces of peace and democracy. In the first ranks of fighters for peace go the working peoples of the country of the Soviets, the country of triumphant socialism, where there is no class or national oppression, where an unbreakable moral and political unity of society has been formed, where the friendship of free and equal peoples flourishes. More than 60 nations, national groups and peoples, welded into a single, fraternal family and led by the Communist Party, are strengthening the might of the Soviet multinational state and selflessly toiling for the socialist homeland's well-being.

The friendship of the U.S.S.R. peoples has been forged and strengthened as a result of the wise Leninist-Stalinist national policy of the Communist Party. In our country, for the first time in history, the nationalities question and the problem of cooperation among nations on the basis of internationalism have been solved. The Soviet regime has not left one stone standing of the policy of national oppression and inequality among peoples; it has put into practice the right of nations to existence as independent states.

Under the Soviet regime the former outlying national districts of Tsarist Russia have been changed from colonies and semicolonies into independent states--Soviet republics--with their own territory, national autonomy, constitution and legislation. The agencies of state power here contain persons elected by the people, who serve the state loyally and honestly....

Our socialist nations are immeasurably more united and enduring than any bourgeois nation with its inherent class and national antagonisms. The ideology of equality among all nations and races, as confirmed in the U.S.S.R., the ideology of friendship among peoples, is the force which strengthens and cements unity among socialist nations. The U.S.S.R. Constitution, the most democratic constitution in the world, holds sacred the equality of citizens, regardless of their nationality or race, in all spheres of economic, state, cultural and socio-political life.

The indestructible friendship of socialist nations withstood the severe tests of the great patriotic war and was still further strengthened in the common struggle for the Soviet homeland's honor, freedom and independence....

The directing and guiding force of the Soviet people--the Communist Party--untiringly strengthens the unbreakable alliance between the working class and the collective farmers, and the unity and friendship of U.S.S.R. peoples, and is resolutely stamping out nationalist survivals and other traces of bourgeois ideology. No one is permitted to weaken the unity, the fraternal solidarity among the working people of all the great Soviet Union's nationalities. The friendship of peoples is the source of the Soviet state's strength; so long as this friendship exists, our country's peoples will remain free and invincible.

The Party educates all Soviet people in the spirit of internationalism and the establishment of fraternal ties with the working people in all countries; it strengthens the Soviet Union's friendship and cooperation with the people's democracies.

The peoples of countries in the socialist camp are united by ties of fraternal amity and mutual aid. The Soviet Union offers the people's democracies technically first-class aid as cheaply as possible; this ensures rapid rates of industrial development in these countries. Between the U.S.S.R. and the people's democracies occurs a many-sided exchange of cooperation in the sphere of economic and cultural construction. Cooperation among countries in the socialist camp is based on principles of proletarian internationalism; at the basis of this cooperation is the sincere desire to help one another and secure general progress.

The economy of the Soviet Union and the people's democracies is a peaceful economy, free of crisis and stagnation, developing in the interests of satisfying society's growing material and cultural needs. In 1952 in the Soviet Union the volume of industrial output exceeded the prewar level 1.3 times. The gross industrial output of the European people's democracies in 1952 was one or two times higher than before the war. The Chinese people achieved major successes in constructing a mighty people's democracy. In the four months of 1953 the peoples of the countries in the socialist camp have gained new victories in developing all branches of economy and culture.

A completely different picture is presented in the camp of capitalism, which dooms millions of working people to unemployment and impoverishment, to bloody wars and severe suffering. The economy of capitalist countries

is characterized by a further exacerbation of antagonisms and a lowering of the working people's living standards because of the ever-increasing arms race. The imperialist bosses in their search for a way out of the insoluble contradictions of the capitalist system are attacking the vital rights of the working people and eliminating the last remnants of bourgeois-democratic freedoms. The bourgeoisie has trampled on the so-called freedom of the individual and has renounced even token admission of the principle of the equality of man and of nations. Bourgeois ideologists are preaching misanthropic racist theories, cultivating the corrupt ideas of nationalism and cosmopolitanism and attempting to disunite and weaken the peoples' forces and break their will to struggle against imperialist oppression for their freedom and national independence.